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SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS--NEW MEXICO, COLORADO, ARIZONA AND TEXAS.

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THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH REPORT WAS TO COLLECT SOCIOLOGICAL DATA ON THE ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS OF MIGRANT WORKERS. THE SAMPLE CONSISTED OF 65 PERSONS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HERITAGE. NO ATTEMPT AT RANDOMIZATION WAS MADE IN SELECTING THE SAMPLE. DATA WERE COLLECTED USING AN OPEN-ENDED TYPE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE. THOSE ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS SPECIFICALLY ISOLATED FOR STUDY WERE FAMILY, HEALTH, ECONOMICS, GOVERNMENT, CHILDREN, RELIGION, AND RECREATION. CONCLUSIONS WERE DRAWN THAT (1) THE SAMPLE SHOWED PRESENT-TIME REWARD EXPECTATIONS IN ALL AREAS, (2) GREAT TIMIDITY AND PASSIVITY WAS SHOWN IN THE AREAS OF EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND ECONOMICS, (3) SATISFACTION WAS SHOWN IN FAMILY LIFE ALTHOUGH THE NUCLEAR FAMILY HAD IN MOST CASES REPLACED THE TRADITIONAL EXTENDED FAMILY, (4) THEY WERE FUTILITARIAN ABOUT THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN, (5) THEY SHOWED TENDENCIES OF RESIGNATION TO THEIR ECONOMIC STATUS, AND (6) THE SAMPLE SHOWED DEFINITE ETHNOCENTRIC TENDENCIES. (JM)

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SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS: NEW MEXICO, COLORADO, ARIZONA AND TEXAS

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PREFACE

This report is an effort toward understanding the personality of the individual who has suffered from low educational attainment levels and impoverishment. The report should be read with a clear understanding that the sample used in the study represents a very narrow segment, even though numerically large, of the social strata of the population of the United States. It also represents only a very narrow segment of the Spanish-speaking minority of the Southwest.

The sample was small, and, therefore, no generalizations are attempted in the report.

Horacio Ulibarri

A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS OF THE MIGRANT WORKER

I. THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this phase of the study was to analyze the migrant worker's attitudinal orientations from a sociological perspective. It was believed that the personal history backgrounds of the workers would focus the census-type statistics into the perspective of real individuals, who are the all-important element in any kind of educational program.

Procedures

In order to study the migrant worker in relation to his attitudinal orientations, a series of interviews was made. These depth interviews attempted to draw out the individual's attitudinal orientations by delving in depth into his background, his level of educational attainment, and his work history. No hypothesis was formulated as to the type of personality which would be characteristic of the migrant and ex-migrant worker.

The Sample

An attempt was made to obtain a random sample of migrant workers in a four-state area--Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. However, because of the virtual impossibility of identifying the migrant worker, this attempt was abandoned. Instead, an effort was made at randomization by endeavoring to interview the different types of people represented in the migrant stream. In the Southwest, the eighty-five percent of the migrant workers have been Spanish-speaking. Only Spanish-speaking workers were in the sample, in order not to introduce more than one ethnic group,

namely, Indians, who have a small number doing migratory work. Within the Spanish-speaking group, however, three distinct elements can be noted--i.e., (1) those who call themselves Spanish Americans and reside mostly in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico; (2) those aliens who have migrated from Mexico in the very recent past; and (3) those who have resided in Texas, but who originally were of Mexican descent. Interviews were carried out in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in order to typify the migrant worker of Spanish American stock. Interviews were also conducted in southern New Mexico in an attempt to typify the ex-bracero and Mexican national type personalities. Similarly, interviews were carried out in Texas and Arizona in an attempt to typify the Mexican-American who is home-based, mostly in Texas.

A total of sixty-five (65) persons was interviewed. Not all persons in the sample, however, were migrants according to the definition used in this study. It was found that such large numbers have left the "stream" that no sizeable pockets of migrant workers remain who have their home-base in Arizona, Colorado or New Mexico. Virtually, the only state in the four-state combine that has sizeable pockets of home-based migrant workers is Texas. However, the fact that an individual or family has left the "stream" does not mean that his social status has been considerably altered. Although some persons in the sample were no longer migrating, all had been migratory workers or "braceros" in the recent past (one to five years ago).

The Interviewers

Most of the interviews were conducted by the research specialist from New Mexico, who speaks Spanish fluently and is of Spanish-speaking

stock. A few interviews were made in Arizona by a graduate assistant, who also is Spanish-speaking and fluent in Spanish.

The Interview

Making the interview contacts proved to be the most difficult task in the process of interviewing. At the beginning, it was felt that definite pockets of home-based migrants could be found easily. However, this did not prove to be the case. Teachers and school officials and health and welfare workers were asked to identify migrant families. While they were very willing to help, the information they gave usually proved to be erroneous. In addition, employment offices were asked to identify migrant workers and they felt that very few home-based migrants reside in Arizona, Colorado, or New Mexico. The number of families that can be called migrants by the definition of this study was so small that they do not constitute a visible problem; and therefore, have not been identified by the communities or officials who were asked to help. The best means of establishing contact was to ask farmers out in the fields if they knew of any migrant workers. This procedure expedited the process considerably.

The interviews were held with single persons, with husband and wife present, and with the total family present and participating. One interview was made with ten Mexican Nationals present. All members of that group participated, answering readily and willingly. Most interviews were held in the evening because at that time the whole family was together. No special difficulty was experienced in establishing rapport; rather, it seemed that these people were willing and anxious to participate.

The Interview Schedule

Initially, it was agreed that no formal hypothesis would be formulated as to the type of personality which would be found in the migrant worker. It was felt that the best approach would be to develop an interview schedule dealing with the subject's family history. It was thought that in this manner attitudes in the various areas of activity in life would be drawn out. Therefore, the first interview schedule centered around the area of the subject's life history.[1]

After two or three interviews, there was considerable doubt that anything relevant was evolving from the interviews centered on the subject's life history. However, after about ten interviews were made and examined carefully, definite patterns began to emerge. At that time, the interview schedule was somewhat modified to include the areas or patterns which had become evident in the first ten interviews.

The Model

A model for interpretation of the data was developed from the attitudinal patterns observed in the interviews. These patterns were: present-time orientation, submissiveness to several factors, timidity in word and action in several areas, sense of failure in many areas, familism of sorts, fear of sickness and of being unable to earn a living, apathy in several areas, some ethnocentrism, awareness of discrimination, and an overall particularistic tendency. It became evident that these data needed to be quantified and analyzed in the areas of life activities where they were found, most of the subjects did not exhibit equally any given attitudinal characteristics in all areas of life activities.

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[1]See Appendix I.

Several theoretical models which were developed and tested in the field were examined. Among these were Davis's "Action Frame of Reference," Kluckhohn's "Classification of Value Orientations," Parson's "Pattern-Alternatives of Value Orientation," as well as several others. None of these frames of reference, however, seemed to afford a suitable interpretation of the data for the purpose desired.

The data needed to be analyzed in relation to the areas of life activity in terms of quantity and intensity. For example, the pattern of submissiveness was generally evident; but the analytical problem involved the areas of life activities and the extent to which the subject was submissive in each respective area. Thus, the attitudinal patterns were analyzed in relation to the institutional areas. By this process, it became possible to quantify the data in relation to the areas of the subject's activities.[2]

The Scales. The scales developed for the interpretation of the data range from an extreme characteristic which may be abnormal to the opposite extreme which may also be abnormal. A seven-point scale for each attitudinal pattern was developed. Normal behavior may be characterized in the range of two to six in each scale.[3]

Advantages. One advantage of this type of model is that these characteristics can be quantified in the several areas of activity. For example, most sociologists agree that the Spanish-speaking are present-time oriented. However, it is questionable whether the Spanish-American is

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[2]See Appendix II.
[3]See Appendix III.

present-time oriented in all areas of his life. For example, in the area of religion, the Spanish-American in the traditional setting was definitely future-time oriented, because his goal in life was the attainment of life hereafter, even though in other areas of life activity he may have been very much present-time oriented.

Another advantage of this type of model is that it lends itself to the examination and quantification of attitudinal characteristics across cultures. The basic assumption is that the variables mentioned, such as time orientation, dominance-subordinance, aggressiveness-timidity, and others, are present. What are ordinarily called cultural differences basically are differences in behavior based on these attitudinal characteristics. For example, within the Spanish-speaking culture, the dominance-subordinance continuum is applicable at the lower end of the scale where the Spanish-speaking tend to be subordinate, especially to the "patron" or his equivalent. In the pueblo cultures of the Rio Grande Valley, the Indians tend to be equally subordinate or submissive, not to a "patron," but to their "cacique."

<u>At a workable level of abstraction, therefore, attitudinal characteristics tend to remain constant, even though in application, they tend to be expressed in different behavioral patterns</u>.

A further advantage of this model is that it is possible to quantify with a high degree of certainty the amount or intensity of any one attitudinal characteristic. Therefore, instead of saying such and such a group, or such and such a person, is present-time oriented, one would be able to quantify <u>the degree</u> to which the individual or group is present-time oriented in any area of behavior.

Perhaps the most important advantage of this model is that it lends itself, through quantification, to the establishment of personality protocols, which, through later research, may prove valuable in determining what type of educational program is desirable for a given type of personality.

Statistical Analysis

The data were analyzed in terms of the range and mode. This statistical design gave a good general picture of each attitudinal characteristic in the respective life-activity areas. The data were appropriately ordered by such technique. Even though the modality for the sample was thus clearly seen, no normality for the total population could be assumed.

The analysis of the data was done first in relation to each institutional area, applying all the attitudinal characteristics to each institution. Then, for summation purposes, each attitudinal characteristic was applied to all the institutional areas simultaneously.

Method of Interpretation

A group of judges, to whom the model had been explained thoroughly, was asked to read the interviews and then independently classify the subject, using the scales, in relation to the variable and the institutional area. Later, the independent judges met with the investigator to compare their analyses. Most of the time, agreement existed among the judges as to a subject's classification in each area. Wherever disagreement was encountered, the judges and the investigaor discussed the problem and resolved it.

II. THE FINDINGS

The findings of the study are reported in this section of the report.

The Sample

Early in the investigation, it became evident that it would be impossible to obtain a random sample of the migrant worker. It also became evident that migrancy is a passing phase in American life, and the few migrant workers remaining active are hard to identify. In view of this factor, it is justifiable to give a brief analysis of the type of people who were finally investigated.

Four constants were present in the total group: (1) all the people in the same were Spanish-speaking; (2) all had a low educational attainment level; (3) all had a low income level; and (4) all had been migratory agricultural workers.

The Spanish-speaking Elements. The Spanish-speaking were of the three elements represented in the Southwest--namely, Spanish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Mexican nationals.

The Spanish-Americans have resided from time immemorial in New Mexico and southern Colorado. Because of their longer contact with the Anglo-American culture, this group participates diffusely and in all levels of stratification in the general melieu of the American way of life. Transculturation is very prevalent among this group, and great numbers of the young generation have lost fluency in the Spanish language.

The Mexican-Americans, sometimes called Latin Americans, generally reside in Texas, southern New Mexico, and Arizona. This group consists of

first, second, and third generation descendants of Mexican immigrants. This group also participates in rather broad areas in the melieu of the American culture. However, because of mitigating circumstances, such as a foreign culture and language, their participation in the American way of life is not as diffused as that of the Spanish Americans.

The Mexican nationals are aliens residing in the United States. Most of them first entered the United States as "braceros." These "braceros" were the best in the group and were singled out by the farmers. These growers procured resident, or "green card," visas for them and brought them from Mexico as farmhands. These "ex-braceros" expressed the desire to have their children raised in the United States because they felt that there were better educational opportunities and better chances of securing jobs. This group was the most isolated and insulated from the American way of life. The fact that only a few of them mastered even a low level of communication in English, and the rest did not know any English, prevented them from active participation in most areas of American life.

Educational Attainment Level. All persons in the sample had a very low educational attainment level. No high school graduates were represented in the sample, and the range was from no schooling to tenth grade completed. The majority of the people in the sample had only a third to fifth grade education. Several of the American born Spanish-speaking, both Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans, stated that they did not know how to read and write in English. All indicated that they could write in Spanish, with the exception of two who were illiterate in both languages. One was sixty years old and the other was about forty.

Income Level. All subjects in the group had a very low level of income. All suffered from unstable employment to the point where many did not know what their yearly earnings totaled. The majority were able to estimate that their earnings averaged about thirty to forty-five dollars a week. They were not hesitant in telling the interviewer their present earnings--for example, eighty cents an hour in the Mesilla Valley with the "ex-braceros," a dollar and ten cents an hour with the Spanish-Americans in the San Luis Valley, and a dollar an hour in the Brighton area.

The homes depicted the poverty in which these people lived. Generally, their homes were clean; as were the children, who were usually present during the interview. The homes were sparsely furnished, and the entire household often consisted of far less space than was needed for the number in the family.

History of Agricultural Work. All the people in the sample were currently working in agriculture. Some of them had been reared on farms. Some of them were in the second and third generation of migrancy. Some had acquired a permanent job only recently. Since no contractual agreement existed between farmer and worker, the security of permanent employment was rather tenuous. All of them, at one time or another, had engaged in seasonal migratory labor. Some had left the "stream," but generally found that because of their lack of training, they were unable to compete for any kind of job except agricultural work. Those who quit the stream stated that they had done so for one of the following reasons: (1) the shortened working season because of machine operation of the farms made their earnings

inadequate for the support of their family; (2) in agricultural work, they did not qualify for unemployment compensation, and they would much rather gamble on a job--for example, construction work where they could qualify for unemployment compensation in order to supplement their small earnings; or (3) they had ceased migratory work, because they found steady employment with some farmer. All of them expressed great concern for the future of the agricultural worker.

Statistical Findings. There were no significant differences found in the modes of the three different Spanish-speaking groups in their attitudinal characteristics. In all variables, the similiarity was so close that for purposes of interpretation, it was deemed justifiable to interpret the findings as if the total sample were only one group.

The statistical findings are summarized in Tables I to VII. Note the number (N) changes from variable to variable. The reason for this is that since the interview schedule was of the open-end type not all subjects responded to all variables--institutional area relationships. The summary is made by institutional area with an application of all the variable attitudinal characteristics to that area.

TABLE I

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING RELIGION*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	3	2-3	-
Self Projection	1	2	-
Dominance-Subordinance			
Aggression Passivity			
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction			
Achievement-Failure			
Confident-Fear			
Involvement-Apathy	27	2-6	5
Universalism-Particularism			
Familism-Individualism			
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism			
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination			

*For proper interpretation refer to Appendix III

TABLE II

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING FAMILY*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	48	3-5	4
Self Projection	48	3-4	4
Dominance-Subordinance	48	3-6	4
Aggression Passivity	48	3-6	4
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	48	3-6	5
Achievement-Failure	48	5-6	5
Confidence-Fear	48	4-6	5
Involvement-Apathy	48	4-5	4
Universalism-Particularism	48	4-5	4
Familism-Individualism	48	4-6	5
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism	48	5-6	5
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination	31**	2	2
	17***	5-6	6

*See Appendix III
**Represents Northern New Mexicans and Mexican Nationals.
***Represents Spanish-Americans from southern Colorado.

TABLE III

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING EDUCATION - ADULT*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	48	3-4	4
Self Projection	48	4-6	4
Dominance-Subordinance	48	5-6	5
Aggression Passivity	43	5-6	6
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	43	5-6	6
Achievement-Failure	43	5-7	6
Confidence-Fear	48	5-7	5
Involvement-Apathy	43	5-7	6
Universalism Particularism	39	5-6	6
Familism-Individualism			
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism			
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination			

*See Appendix III

TABLE IV

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING EDUCATION - CHILDREN*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	40	3-4	4
Self Projection	43	4	4
Dominance-Subordinance	39	3-6	6
Aggression Passivity	35	3-7	6
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	32	4-6	5
Achievement-Failure	34	3-7	6
Confidence-Fear	32	4-6	5
Involvement-Apathy	34	4-6	6
Universalism-Particularism	37	5-6	6
Familism-Individualism	35	6	6
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism	4	6	6
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination			

*See Appendix III

TABLE V

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING HEALTH*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	43	4	4
Self Projection	43	4	4
Dominance-Subordinance			
Aggression Passivity			
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	43	5	5
Achievement-Failure			
Confidence-Fear	43	6	6
Involvement-Apathy			
Universalism-Particularism			
Familism-Individualism			
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism			
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination			

*See Appendix III

TABLE VI

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING ECONOMICS-EARNINGS*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	48	3-4	4
Self-Projection	48	3-5	4
Dominance-Subordinance	48	3-6	6
Aggression Passivity	43	3-6	6
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	43	3-6	6
Achievement-Failure	42	3-6	6
Confidence-Fear	43	4-7	6
Involvement-Apathy	43	3-6	5
Universalism-Particularism	43	5-6	6
Familism-Individualism			
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism	48	2	2
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination	30**	2	2
	14***		

*See Appendix III
**Represents Northern New Mexicans and Mexican Nationals.
***Represents Spanish-Americans from southern Colorado.

TABLE VII

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING ECONOMICS - SPENDING PATTERNS*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	48	3-4	4
Self Projection	47	4-5	4
Dominance-Subordinance	47	3-6	6
Aggression Passivity	43	3-6	6
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	43	3-6	5
Achievement-Failure	43	4-6	5
Confidence-Fear	42	4-7	6
Involvement-Apathy	42	4-6	5
Universalism-Particularism	43	4-6	6
Familism-Individualism	43	4-6	6
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism			
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination	1	6	6

*See Appendix III

TABLE VIII

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING GOVERNMENT*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	19	3-4	4
Self Projection	18	3-4	4
Dominance-Subordinance			
Aggression Passivity			
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	4	5	5
Achievement-Failure			
Confidence-Fear			
Involvement-Apathy	18	3-6	6
Universalism-Particularism			
Familism-Individualism			
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism			
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination			

*See Appendix III

TABLE IX

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT AND EX-MIGRANT WORKERS REGARDING RECREATION*

	Number	Range	Mode
Reward Expectation	43	4	4
Self Projection	43	4	4
Dominance-Subordinance			
Aggression Passivity			
Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction			
Achievement-Failure			
Confidence-Fear			
Involvement-Apathy			
Universalism-Particularism			
Familism-Individualism	42	4-6	6
Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism	47	5-7	6
Active Discrimination			
Passive Discrimination	26**	2	2
	10***	5-8	6

*See Appendix III
**Represents Northern New Mexicans and Mexican Nationals.
***Represents Spanish-Americans from southern Colorado.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

The analysis of the findings is presented in this section of the report. The analysis was made by applying the several attitudinal orientations to the institutional areas. A summary was made by applying each attitudinal characteristic across the institutional areas.

Religion

The area of religion did not emerge as a strong factor in the lives of these people. Few deductions and conclusions can be made regarding this institutional activity. One deduction that can be made, however, seems to be that these people do not have the preoccupation with religion that the traditional Spanish-speaking cultures had. Since some of them express affiliation with some church, one may conclude that they were not a-religious or anti-religious, but they were not fervent or regular in their religious practices.

Dominance-Subordinance. Most studies dealing with the cultures of the Spanish-speaking people have generally indicated an almost blind submission toward the clergy on the part of the people. The sample did not express this orientation. Apparently, they have lost the ever-binding subordinance to the clergy that had been noted in other studies.

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction. A complacent contentment toward religion seemed to be the prevalent attitude. The migrant and ex-migrant's involvement in religious affairs was minimal; their attendance at religious ceremonies was sporadic. None of them, however, expressed any major dissatisfaction with religion.

The Family

The family tended to emerge as one of the strongest areas of life activity in this study. The migrant and ex-migrant family tended to be a closely knit unit, where all members seem to enjoy great status and esteem.

The indications seemed to point to the fact that the concept of the extended family has been lost among these people. Practically the only expression of extended familism was a feeble uneasiness for distant relatives and some concern for married brothers and sisters. Perhaps the very essence of extended familism, namely, mutual cooperation in all areas of activity, especially in earning a living, has dissipated in this group because of their impoverished conditions. For example, when asked if they could depend on their relatives for help in time of crisis, the answer was negative. (The Spanish language has a generic term "parientes" which is more forceful in expressing kinship relations than the English word, relatives.) When asked if they would help their relatives when in distress, the usual answer was, "I don't think that we can afford it." This attitude was also extended sometimes to married sons and daughters, but in general, they showed concern for them. Therefore, it seems that the limits of familism among these people extends only as far as married sons and daughters who are not living in the household.

Within the nuclear family, however, can be noted complete involvement in all areas of endeavor. The total nuclear family is concerned for each member of the family in whatever problems the individual may face, and, similarly, he shares whatever joys he encounters in life. Two areas of

anxiety seemed to emerge in the area of the nuclear family. One was that the family remain an integrated unit, and the other was the constant preoccupation with earning a living. All the children seemed to express the same concern as the adults.

Time Orientation--Reward Expectation and Self-projection. The nuclear family seemed to be rather strongly oriented to the present. They were content with the fact that they were together at the moment. They did not contemplate future plans, either as a family or as individuals.

Agression-Passivity. As a family unit, the migrant and ex-migrant seemed to be quite concerned about the problems they are facing, either as a family or as a family member. They seemed to be rather passive, however, about taking any action to resolve those problems. This orientation may have been the product of impoverishment, of low educational attainment levels, and of the differential treatment they ordinarily received. They seemed incapable of discerning the alternatives for a solution; next they did not have the financial means to attempt any action; and because of rebuff and discrimination, they may have encountered little success in solving their own problems. Therefore, it seems that most have accepted the attitude of "what is the use."

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction. An atmosphere of contentment seemed to prevail within the family unit. This apparent contentment may have been induced by their lack of future-time orientation in reward expectation and self-projection, as well as by passivity. However, when relating other areas of life to family living, dissatisfaction was expressed as to the

living conditions in which they existed; at the fact that they could not provide adequately for their children; at the fact that they could not afford things, such as clothing, for themselves; and at the fact that they could not better their lot in life. Their anxiety was often summed up in these words, "I wish I could do more, but what can I do?" Some expressed a sense of shame at their inability to do better for their children. Yet from a broad perspective, perhaps the most successful involvement of the migrant worker in all his life's endeavors has been with his family.

Universalism-Particularism. A notable exception to the general particularistic tendency of the migrant and ex-migrant worker was his perspective of the family. He tended to look at the family as a whole unit without losing sight of any member in it. Everybody in that family seemed to know that he was an integrated part of the family. Usually, the parents tended to look at their married sons and daughters as part of their nuclear family, even though they may have removed themselves from the geographic proximity of the nuclear family.

Education--Adult

In general, disassociation seemed to be prevalent among adults as to education for themselves. They saw no reward resulting from further education, and, therefore, did not project themselves into any possibility for improvement through education. For example, when they were asked, "What do you think that you could do to better your lot in life?", the answer never was that they wanted more formalized education.

A few non-English-speaking "ex-braceros" were the only group in the sample who were attempting any formalized education. These were ten in

number, whereas the class had started with about forty-five. It seemed that the vast majority of the people in the sample had experienced so much failure throughout their lives that they seriously doubted their potential for further learning. Most replied to the question asking if they would attend tuition-free adult education class if they were established with: "Yes, but we are too old to learn anymore." Some answered, "I am too stupid to learn." Others replied, "I am so far behind that I don't think I can learn anymore."

The only ones who expressed any enthusiasm for adult education were some Mexicans who could not speak English. They desired literacy training in English. Three young men expressed feeble desires to enroll in an auto mechanics school.

Education--Children

The sample seemed to feel a ray of hope that perhaps through education, their children might be able to enjoy a better life than they had experienced. As far as verbal expression, they seemed to be great supporters of education for their children, but their actions tended to belie their words.

Reward Expectations. When these people were asked what their hopes were for their children, most of them expressed desires, such as wanting their children to become lawyers, doctors, or at least teachers. Some just wanted their children to get an education so that they would be able to work in an office. All, in one way or another, expressed their expectations of education in this manner: "I want my children to get an education, so that they will not have to work as hard as I have."

Projection. Despite these ambitions, further probing indicated that the sample were doubtful that their children would finish high school. Perhaps because of their extreme poverty, none had the slightest idea how they might finance their children through school. Most of them doubted that they would ever be able to afford much education for their children because, as they stated, "high school is so expensive."

Dominance-Subordinance. Perhaps because the parents had received little education, their participation in educational activities was minimal. Therefore, indirectly, they became subordinate to a type of educational program that perhaps was not suited to their children's needs. Havighurst is very emphatic in stating that the policy of the public schools is ultimately controlled by middle-class educators, and as such, may not perform the services it should for the children of the lower classes.[4] Lack of articulation with the school rendered this class victims of unequality in educational opportunity for their children.

Ignorance regarding the nature and function of education seemed to make education for these people a matter of concern only for teachers and school officials. When their dissatisfaction with the school situation becomes great, they may be outspoken within the primary groups. Seldom, however, did they take direct action. Rather, they seemed to avoid the difficult situation, which often led to their children dropping out of school.

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction. Most of the people interviewed did not express any hostile feelings toward the schools in the community. They

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[4]Havighurst, Robert J., et al., Society and Education, 2nd edition. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962), pp. 284-85 and 237-242.

expressed little positive knowledge about the schools and the school personnel. For example, a gentleman said he felt that they had very good teachers in the community, "although I don't know how well educated they are." This remark was not expressed in a derogatory manner. Generally, one could state that the individuals in the sample had a rather complacent and ignorant satisfaction with their schools.

Achievement-Failure. The adults, in general, did not feel that they had been failures in school. They seemed to express the feeling that lack of educational opportunity had prevented them from acquiring a higher level of education. Even though their whole life's experience had been one of privation and hard labor, which would be traced to lack of educational attainment, they seemed to place a relatively low value on their children acquiring an education. The school achievement of these children was low. None of the families interviewed, with the exception of two, had any high school graduates among their children. This attitude that nothing more can be achieved seemed to have been transmitted to the children, and, therefore, children at the junior high school level seemed sincerely doubtful that they would finish high school. The general pattern of dropout seemed to be that the children were dropping out of school three and four grades above the last grade completed by the parents.

The sense of having completely exhausted all potential was becoming evident in the children. Most of the children participating in the interviews thought that school was "a lot of fun." With rare exceptions, they were not achieving at a high level. Usually the grades received by the children

ranged from "C's to F's." When asked why they received such poor grades, they tended to blame themselves. Most stated: "I don't know. I guess I don't work hard enough."; "Maybe I don't pay enough attention."; "I guess I am playing too much."

Involvement-Apathy. Only a few in the sample were actively involved in school affairs. Their impoverished condition apparently placed earning a living above getting an education, and, therefore, their children were also prevented from participating fully in educational activities. It was nothing unusual for the children of some of the subjects to be the last ones to enroll in the fall and the first ones to leave in the spring. Often the family took the children out of school because as they stated, "we need them to support the family."

Perhaps the most devastating pattern was that the children could not participate fully in school activities. The parents simply stated that they could not afford to pay the added costs for extra class activities. In Colorado, where a book rental fee is collected, some parents thought that they could not afford to send their children through high school because they could not pay the fee.

Universalism-Particularism. Perhaps because of their ignorance about the school and lack of communication with the schools, these people seemed to be totally particularistic about the school. The schools were praised or defamed as whole units because of small details.

Sometimes it was a particular program; sometimes it was a particular teacher; but never was the praise or criticism expressed in a universalistic

manner. For example, one family could not praise a particular school enough because the fourth grade teacher had taken special interest in their little girl. Another case was where the whole school was blamed for intense discrimination because an Anglo teacher applied corporal punishment to a Spanish-speaking boy, and according to them, the boy was hurt, and subsequently died. Another family blamed the teachers and the school officials for their son's dropping out of school because a teacher reprimanded him, and they felt that, "he actually did not do anything."

Familism-Individualism. Not only is the actual process of education for their children a function of the nuclear family, but also the values placed on education. For example, the children tend to be present-time oriented in reward expectation and self-projection. Senior high students at the tenth grade level were asked, "What are you going to do after you finish high school?", and the typical answer was, "I don't know." They were asked, "Will you finish high school?", and their answer was a feeble, "Well, maybe; I think so." At this moment, the parents invariably would extol to their children the virtues of having an education. The children, however, appeared indifferent.

Health

The area of health, at first glance, did not seem to be of particular concern to the sample group. Statements regarding health were only interspersed through the interview, but when these statements were isolated, it became evident that a high degree of importance was attached to health by these people.

Reward Expectation. For the most part, one could state that these people expressed happiness at enjoying their present good health. To some extent they seemed to take their present state of good health for granted and paradoxically, they were extremely concerned about becoming ill.

Projection. Aside from a few minor activities, there seemed to be no directed efforts at promoting and preserving good health. The only preventive efforts seemed to be the kind imposed on them, e.g., vaccination. For instance, their nutrition seemed to be unbalanced. Most homes were rundown, and living conditions were generally overcrowded. Many of the homes lacked basic sanitary facilities, such a running water and inside toilets. These factors, to a great extent, may be explained by their impoverished condition.

Dominance-Subordinance. Perhaps because of the factor of ignorance and poverty, these people tended to become victims of their circumstances by default. They did not seem to know what factors were involved in preserving and promoting good health. Prevention seemed to be unknown. The individuals greatly treasured well-being, but on the other hand, did not seem to know exactly what well-being was. Schulman found that among the Spanish-Americans, unless pain or other disfunctioning factor of life activities was present, sickness was not recognized.[5] Therefore, a tubercular person may think himself in perfectly good health, "only a little tired," because he is not suffering pain. The same tendency seemed to exist in this

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[5]Schuman, Sam et. al., "The Concept of 'Health' Among Spanish-speaking Villagers of New Mexico and Colorado," Journal of Health and Human Behavior, Volume 4, Winter, 1963, pp. 226-234.

sample. Thus, because they did not seem to understand the true nature of health and illness, whenever illness struck, often they failed to see the casual factors. Therefore, unless the cause was readily evident, sickness was thought to be a complete matter of destiny.

Some in the sample group thought that doctors should be consulted immediately; some thought that they should be consulted only after home remedies had failed. However, none expressed the idea that doctors should be consulted when one was not sick. Again, this latter negative orientation can be explained in terms of poverty.

During protracted illness, some in the group thought little could be done to help the person recover. What needed to be done by all concerned was to resign themselves to the problem rather than to become anxious over it, although they thought it was almost impossible.

Confidence-Fear. The most important attitude regarding health was a very strong apprehension, bordering on fear, about being sick. When they were asked: "What is the saddest thing in life for you?", invariably the response was "sickness." In a few instances, the answer was "poverty." Attempting to penetrate deeper without soliciting a specific answer, the interviewer posed this question: "In your way of thinking, what is sadder being poor or being sick?" The subjects usually entered into a discourse as to how it was sadder to be sick than to be poor. Their response often was, "Of course, being sick. When you are sick, you have nothing. At least when you have your health, you can still look for a job." An explanation was

sought from the subjects for this orientation, but none seemed to be able to articulate an answer; most gave only a vague indication that sickness prevented them from earning a living.

Familism-Individualism. Since health seemed to be the most anxiety-creating factor in the lives of the migrant and ex-migrant, it was natural that illness would be a concern for the whole nuclear family. Regardless of who was sick, all said that illness caused everybody in the family to be sad. Some said that it was sadder to have small children sick than adults. Many expressed the attitude that they would much rather be sick themselves than to have their children sick, especially bedridden.

Economics

The most obvious and intense concern of the total group was in the area of earning a living. Usually, the greater part of the interview was related to earning a living and the difficulties encountered in providing adequately for their families.

Reward Expectation. Most of the individuals in the sample felt that they were not earning enough money to sustain their familes. They believed that the government should develop projects to provide them with job opportunities. Despite their impoverished conditions, these migrants and ex-migrants did not seem to have internalized what may be loosely called the "welfare complex." They expressed a necessity to have their earnings supplemented by the free commodity distribution or the food stamp programs, but none expressed a desire to become public welfare clients.

Projection. All felt a strong sense of duty to support themselves and their families. Most of them had not attempted in the recent past to qualify themselves for a better type of job. Those, who were still migrating, realized that they were not actually improving themselves. The idea of getting training for other types of jobs had apparently not entered into their thinking.

Their spending patterns also indicated a strong present-time orientation. Of course, most of their income, since it was so low, was spent for basic necessities. There were, however, strong evidence of much impulsive buying. Rather expensive items such as encyclopedias and television sets were noted about the house, even though the need for better furnishings, clothing, and more living space was very evident. Useless buying was also noticed. Broken-down cars were strewn around the yards. All stated that usually they spent their money as they earned it. None had any money in the bank. None had any savings. Except for two cases, none had any life insurance; none had any health insurance; and a few had no liability insurance for their cars.

Dominance-Subordinance. The whole family was affected seriously by the amount of earnings available to them through the year. During the working season, the typical seasonal worker in the sample worked as much as sixty hours a week and earned from sixty to seventy dollars a week. During the off-season, however, he worked only sporadically, and his earnings seldom amounted to more than twenty-five dollars a week. Often he was unemployed for prolonged periods. When one considers that the working period for the

seasonal worker has been shortened considerably because much of the farm operations now are being done by machine, their yearly earnings are very small.

One of the most evident results of this low income is the impoverished conditions under which these people lived. All the homes visited were in a rundown condition. Most were too small for the size of the family; for example, families of ten to twelve living in homes with a total of four rooms. Many of the homes visited had no running water; most were poorly furnished. Often, the only new piece of furniture was a television set. Most of the homes were clean, but some were infested with mice.

Because of their low educational attainment level, relatively few jobs were open to the migrant and ex-migrant. Some stated that they had tried looking for other types of jobs, but had been unsuccessful. This factor of not possessing saleable skills in an era of technology, coupled with the factor of discrimination encountered in some areas, apparently reinforced their depressed state of mind. Most seemed to be resigning themselves to the problem of poverty instead of trying to fight it any longer. A typical saying among the Mexico-Americans was: "You are a Mexican; you have to pick cotton."

Aggression-Passivity. The sense of frustration may result in a certain amount of timidity in job seeking. Moreover, the timidity noticed among the people in the sample extended far beyond that of looking for a job. It extended into the conditions under which they worked, and the wages they accepted. It also extended into boss-worker relationships.

During the work-season, these agricultural workers worked from ten to twelve hours a day and were never paid over-time for work above forty hours a week, as are other people in different types of labor. In fact, most of them seemed satisfied with the eighty cents an hour or the one dollar an hour they were getting. They tended to think that their low earnings were caused entirely by their unstable jobs, rather than by the combination of unsteady employment and low wages. Only a very small number expressed the opinion that they would like to register a complaint. These few said that they could not, however, because they would lose their jobs.

All the interviewees used the word "patron" when referring to their boss. All thought that they were treated well by their present bosses, while on the job. In a number of cases, however, they stated that their former bosses treated them like "nothing." Those who were not employed at the time did not hesitate to state their views about their bosses. They thought their bosses were definitely discriminatory in job assignments. They thought that the dirty and tough jobs were assigned to them instead of the cleaner and lighter jobs. "But what can we say; we need a job," was the typical conclusion.

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction in the area of economics ranged from dissatisfaction to strong dissatisfaction coupled with bitterness. This group showed great dissatisfaction at having to work long hours under a blistering sun o having to be riding a tractor on a bitter cold winter day.

The greatest amount of dissatisfaction, however, seemed to center around their inability to earn more in order to provide better for their

families. The dissatisfaction was so extreme, that it bordered on free floating. They lamented the fact that their children could not participate in the same activities as other children in school, because they did not have the money with which to buy them the proper clothing or to pay the fees required. They also were strongly dissatisfied with the living conditions in which they found themselves. Mostly, however, they were very dissatisfied with not being able to provide the basic necessities for their children.

When comparing their children's youth with their own youth, many expressed the opinion that perhaps their youth had been just as impoverished, but that they had been basically satisfied. Their children, on the other hand, were not satisfied, they thought because they "learned too many things in school," or "they saw too many things on television."

Achievement-Failure. The total group considered themselves failures in the area of finding steady employment. Whether they recognized the fact that it was their low level of qualifications for jobs other than agricultural could not be ascertained. Their typical statement tended to be: "There are no more jobs available; I don't know what we are going to do." Thus, most felt that they had exhausted their potential and only a few expressed any guilt at not having achieved more than their present level.

Familism-Individualism. As has been previously stated, the whole nuclear family was affected by the low income. That very poverty, however, seemed to have produced a strong cohesiveness in the nuclear family. No evidence was found that the parents seriously considered helping or asking for help from their brothers or sisters. The married sons and daughters were

not expected to contribute to the support of their parental family. "They have obligations of their own, already," was the usual explanation. When the unmarried sons and daughters were working, they contributed as much as one-half of their earnings to the support of the nuclear family. Similarly, the total family shared in poverty when the wage-earners were unemployed.

Government

The majority of the sample seemed to have disassociated themselves almost completely from the government. In general, they seemed to be ignorant of the governmental structure. By their expressions, they seemed to think of the government as a personality.

Reward Expectation. In general, most of the people seemed oblivious to the types of help that could be procured from the governmental agencies. About the only help expected was in the form of commodities or food stamps. They also wished that the government would develop projects where they could find jobs. Their idea of government projects was never clearly defined. Some expressed the idea that projects such as the WPA or CCC of the 1930's would be beneficial.

Involvement-Apathy. The majority of the people in the sample had little regard for politics. Some voted, but did not actively involve themselves any further. Some did not vote because of lack of residential requirements or lack of citizenship, such as was the case with the Mexican nationals.

About the only kind of involvement was the type which was forced upon them, for example, immunization and contributing to social security. Some

types of involvement were assidiously avoided, such as with law enforcement. As for this type of involvement, most had not been in difficulty, but nonetheless, they expressed timidity concerning law enforcement. They tended to think that the law enforcement officer was always right, and typically they would say: "You cannot play with the law."

In general,the ignorance about the government seemed to be so great and the apathy so innervating that one could almost conclude that these people, even though living in the United States, functionally are not citizens of the United States. No evidence was noted of any impact made on this group by any civil rights program or left-winged group stirring them to fight for their rights.

Recreation

Recreation among the group was confined almost entirely to the nuclear family. The forms of recreation in which they participated were watching television, playing cards, visiting, going to the movies, and dancing. Their total outlook on recreation seemed to be present-time oriented, and complacent satisfaction seemed to be evident.

No family or individual belonged to social or fraternal organizations. Whenever they attended dances, they said they went to dances attended only by Spanish-speaking. Few individuals indicated participation in church-type recreational programs. This factor of confining the recreation to the nuclear family, or to the ethnic group, perhaps further isolates these people from the melieu of American life.

Cosmopolitanism-Ethnocentrism and Discrimination

The two variables, cosmopolitanism and discrimination, were not included, except in passing, in the foregoing analysis by institutional areas because a comprehensive picture seemed to be necessary. They are discussed in this section in a related manner because of their natural affinity.

In general, it can be stated that relatively little contact existed between the Anglo and the Spanish-speaking in the sample. About the only contact evident existed in the relations of boss to worker or foreman to farmhand. All said that they had very little social relationship with the Anglo. None stated that he had any close Anglo friends. Whatever contact existed seemed to be negative; that is, in the form of discrimination. Very little contact seemed to have existed among the three Spanish-speaking groups--namely, the Spanish-Americans, the Mexican-Americans, and the Mexican nationals.

Regarding discrimination, some strong distinctions must be made. The Spanish-Americans from northern New Mexico felt that, in general, little discrimination was leveled at them. With few exceptions, the Mexican nationals did not seem conscious of the factor of discrimination. The Spanish-Americans from Colorado, especially from southern Colorado, felt strong discrimination directed at them. The Mexico-Americans from Texas also felt intense, and sometimes vicious, discrimination against them.

In the case of the Spanish-Americans from northern New Mexico, they felt that perhaps the only discrimination encountered was where they were assigned dirtier or harder jobs than others, or that the Anglo without the skill was ordered to operate a machine instead of them. To interpret this

phenomena, one must go beyond the data acquired for this study. The Spanish-Americans of northern New Mexico have not had prolonged contact with Anglos. Northern New Mexico is an impoverished area and does not attract labor-type immigrants from other parts of the nation or state. The result has been that Rio Arriba, Taos, Mora, and San Miguel Counties still have a strong numerical majority of Spanish-speaking. The Anglos who have migrated to these parts of the state tend to be middle class, and therefore, the contact of the lower classes of Spanish-Americans with the Anglos has been minimal, thus lessening the possibilities for discrimination to develop. Therefore, when a lower class Spanish-American moves out of his "cultural island," he may be totally unaware of being discriminated against, if discrimination does take place.

In the case of the Mexican national, because of the language barrier, he was more isolated than the Spanish-American from northern New Mexico partly due to geographic isolation and the language barrier. They thought that the situation here was so much better than in Mexico that they felt exhuberant about living in the United States. They also felt that in the United States the educational and economic opportunities for their children were much better than in Mexico. With this kind of attitude, they became virtually insulated from any great awareness of discrimination. In southern New Mexico there were objective evidences of exploitation of these workers. Just to mention one very typical case--this person was earning eighty cents an hour; he worked as much as twelve hours a day for five and a half days a week during the crop season, yet he was not getting extra compensation for

work above the forty hours a week. Further, during the off-season when he was irregularly employed, the only help he received from the employer was in the form of housing and loans for the necessities of the family. But when he was asked about the factor of discrimination, he felt that nobody had ever discriminated against him during his stay in the United States.

The comparison factor also worked to ease the sensitivity of discrimination among those Mexican nationals who had become aware of the factor of discrimination. One worker stated his feelings very succinctly: "We much rather suffer discrimination here, than hunger back in Mexico."

Considering the problem of discrimination among the Spanish-Americans from Colorado, the discrimination seemed to be of a two-fold nature. One kind of discrimination received from the farm owners was exploitation in the form of long hours of work and low wages. The nature of the other type of discrimination may be described in the following manner. A sizeable group of Anglos who are just one step above the seasonal worker lived in this region. It is with this group, apparently, that the conflict existed. Thus, it seems that Cox's findings apply in this situation very well; namely, discrimination brought about by fear, especially in the area of economic competition.[6]

The problem of discrimination in Texas seemed to be somewhat similar to the one in Colorado. The Anglos who were the most vicious and open in discrimination against the Spanish-speaking were those who, by all objective

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[6]Cox, O. C., Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, (New York; Double Day and Company, 1948), p. 216.

criteria, were in the same social class as the respective Spanish-speaking group against whom they discriminated. An important different element entered into this picture, however. Texas has historically been the gateway for the Mexicans coming into the United States. Thus, Texas, unlike northern New Mexico and Colorado, has not had only a resident group of Spanish-speaking, but also a consistent stream of immigrants from Mexico. These newly arrived groups cannot participate widely in the general melieu because of their foreign language and foreign culture. Marden's theory of the vicious circle seems to apply to this situation.[7] According to Marden, then, the newcomer from Mexico, when attempting to function in American society would be in fact inferior to the native American citizen. This factor would give a rationale to the native American citizen, both Anglo and Spanish-speaking, to ridicule the Mexican and discriminate against him. The Mexican immigrant, seeing himself in those conditions, then would become self-conscious of his inferiority, and the more conscious he becomes of his inferiority, the more inferior he becomes.

Summary

The general conclusions that can be made are:

1. The sample showed present-time orientation in reward expectations in all areas.
2. The sample showed present-time orientation in self-projection in all areas except education, where they indicated that they would like their children to get an education; but basically, their future thinking was nebulous.

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[7]Marden, Charles F., Minorities in American Society, (New York: American Book Co., 1952), p. 32.

3. The sample showed timidity in action and a tendency to avoid facing the situation in the area of education by having their children drop out of school. They showed great passivity in the area of health. They tended to be timid in trying to improve themselves in the area of economics. By default, they were escaping the situation in the area of involvement in government. They were passive in the area of recreation, confining their recreational activities to the nuclear family or to their ethnic group.
4. The sample showed strong satisfaction in the area of the family life; complacent satisfaction in the areas of religion and government, in education as it related to education for the children; and strong dissatisfaction and bitterness at their inability to earn a better living and to provide more adequately for their families.
5. The sample group felt that they were achieving to their utmost capacities in the area of the family; that they had exhausted their own potential for education for themselves and financially they were futilitarian about the education of their children; that they were exhausting their potential in the area of economics.
6. The sample was not concerned with the dominance-subordinance factor in the area of the family; they were submissive by default in the area of education for their children and thought that their own lack of education was only lack of educational

opportunity. They thought that health was mostly a matter of one's destiny. They showed tendencies of resignation to poverty in the area of economics.

7. The sample showed concern about the area of education for their children. They showed some fear of not finding a job and of not being able to provide for their families. They showed fear of ill-health, although they were not directing any activities toward preserving or promoting their good health.
8. The sample felt successful involvement with the nuclear family. They were apathetic about most problems concerning education for their children, involving themselves very little in school affairs. They were completely apathetic about education for themselves. They were apathetic, meeting slight success, in the area of economics. They showed almost complete disassociation with government. They felt complacent about recreation and religion.
9. The sample showed an overall particularistic attitude in all areas except the nuclear family, where they gave equal importance to particulars and universals,--namely, they thought that the family existed because of the members, to whom they relegated great status and esteem.
10. The sample indicated that the limits of their familism was the nuclear family, and this orientation extended into education, health, economics, and recreation.

11. The sample showed definite ethnocentric tendencies where few contacts were made with anyone outside their ethnic group. Contact was generally maintained only with primary groups of the same ethnic stock.
12. The group in the sample from northern New Mexico showed little awareness toward discrimination, except in work relations; the Mexicans seemed to be unaware of discrimination; the Spanish-Americans from Colorado indicated strong awareness of discrimination; and the Mexican-Americans were similarly aware.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

In analyzing the implications for education or rehabilitation from this study, one must be realistic and recognize that historically most attempts at adult education have generally been failures. If the migrant and ex-migrant are to be given their rightful place in American society through an educational program for rehabilitation, one must discard traditionalistic thinking to some extent and determine new approaches involving a spirit of experimentation. It is always dangerous to experiment with ongoing programs in education because of the ever-present possibility of detrimental results. With this group, however, one can start with the premise that as far as education is concerned, these people have had little or nothing. Therefore, there is much less possibility of any new approach producing adverse effects than when experimentation is attempted with ongoing programs.

Objectives

In order for an adult education program to have a fair chance of success, it must take into account the needs of the individuals affected by the program. The strongest attitudinal characteristic of these marginal workers was fear of want. Their total concern revolved around two factors as stated by the workers themselves: (1) "How long will I be able to keep my present job?" and (2) if unemployed, "When will I get a job?" Basically, this fear of want helps to explain most of the other attitudinal characteristics of these people. For example, the present-time orientation observed can be easily explained in terms of their lack of economic potential.

Similarly, their dissatisfaction with life, as expressed in fatalism and apathy is the product of their extreme poverty. Poverty is also the prime cause of their low level of educational attainment. This, in turn, produces a downward spiral of ill health, more poverty, and greater ignorance.

This syndrome strongly suggests that rehabilitation of these migrant and ex-migrant workers should start with the satisfaction of life's basic needs or annihilation of the fear of want. The temptation is great to simplify the problem by stating that if these people were taught a salable skill and/or enough earning power were developed in them, all their other problems would be resolved. While this may be true in overall terms, many other mitigating circumstances must be considered. The three basic areas of rehabilitation that are readily observable among the migrant and ex-migrant workers are: (1) family living (2) basic education and (3) occupational skills. A fourth area may be added for the Spanish-speaking migratory worker, namely, the area of Americanization or acculturation. Neither is more important than the other, and perhaps all four areas must be developed simultaneously.

Family Living. The area of family living should encompass a global approach to the attainment of higher levels of living for the entire family. Much of this education should entail health, nutrition, and hygiene, as well as child-rearing. Great improvements in housing conditions can be attained by teaching these people simple skills, such as electrical wiring and furniture making. Development of pride in their dwelling place can do much for these people in bettering their family living conditions. Teaching them worthy use of their leisure time should be a strong objective in this area of rehabilitation.

Basic Education. The area of basic education cannot be separated from family living or occupational skills. It should serve as a vehicle to the attainment of both. It encompasses a wide range of knowledge, some of which is essential, and some of which is only desirable. Because of time limitations and the urgency in educating these people, perhaps the objectives in this area should emphasize the more essential areas of education, such as communication and mathematical skills.

Regarding communication skills in English, the group interviewed ranged from having no knowledge of the English language to having some proficiency in oral communication. At present an educational attainment level of seventh grade is considered the borderline between social literacy and social illiteracy. The majority in the sample had an educational attainment level of third or fourth grade. Thus the objective of literacy should encompass a total approach in the area of communication. Skills in communication should be closely related to the occupational skills sought by the individuals. Thus, for those who cannot attain any high level of salable skills, perhaps a simple communication skill which would enable them to carry on their daily tasks would suffice. The literacy program for persons who have the potential of becoming technicians must encompass all the communication skills required in that trade.

Similarly, mathematical skills should be related to the needs of the individual. All need simple computational skills for their daily tasks. Those pursuing technical training need more complex mathematical training.

Occupational Skills. Perhaps occupational skills will be the one which will bear the most tangible fruits of the total program. However, not all persons in the category of marginal workers will be able to develop into skilled workers of one kind or another. Among the extenuating circumstances are age, lack of interest, and low intelligence potential.

The problems of low level intelligence and lack of interest are self-explanatory. However, the problem of age is a double-edged sword. First, because these people have never occupied themselves with academic endeavors, learning to the marginal worker may prove to be quite difficult. They themselves expressed a fear of having to go back to school because "we are too old to learn." Second, some of them are so low in their functional education that by the time they would develop to a sufficient level educationally to acquire a salable skill, age would be a serious obstacle in securing employment.

At this point a suggestion seems to be in order. Perhaps what needs to be done is to define the educational objectives for the rehabilitation of these people in terms of age groups. A possible approach to the problem would be to divide the group into age brackets--forty and above, thirty to forty, and those below thirty. Unless those above forty have an extraordinary intellectual potential, perhaps the rehabilitation program should consist of training the individual for domestic and non-skilled jobs. Those in the age bracket of thirty to forty who have a high capacity for learning should be given the full program, but a non-technical program seems to be in order for those who are less capable. However, no effort should be spared to develop

the age group below thirty into highly technical workers, unless their intellectual potential is a strong limiting factor.

As far as actual vocational education is concerned, much projection research is needed to determine what kind of vocational education programs are feasible. Since technology and automation are taking over at a rapid pace, a projection must be made as to what kind of jobs are going to be available for these people upon the completion of their training program. The success of this area of the program hinges on the ability to place these people successfully in jobs for which they have been trained. The level of interest of the individuals in the various vocational programs will swell or diminish according to how they begin to see their possibilities for steady employment.

Americanization or acculturation. The Spanish-speaking migrant and ex-migrant workers expressed a very strong ethnocentric attitude. Historically, it can be noted that all minority groups have ceased being minority groups only after a large proportion of their members became participants, on a wide scale, in the milieu of the American way of life. It can also be noted that those among the Spanish-speaking group who have risen to the middle class and are experiencing a modicum of success have become acculturated into the Anglo-American culture.

From a sociological perspective, a vast amount of evidence can be mustered which indicates that minority groups are objects of discrimination. The reasons for discrimination may vary from locale to locale, but the effects are always as devastating. Most groups who are objects of discrimination are impoverished. All of them are denied full participation in the American

way of life. The problem of discrimination is a two-way proposition, whereby both the majority group and the minority groups are generally to blame. Both must help to alleviate the anomaly, and the minority group must attempt to cease to be the minority.

No one can deny the intrinsic value of all cultures. All social scientists are in agreement that comparisons between cultures at best are superficial. The greatness of the Spanish-speaking cultures cannot be denied. However, a culture should serve its members; the members should not be the slaves of that culture. Therefore, whenever a culture fails to serve its individuals adequately, that culture should be modified. The total impoverishment of the individuals in the sample attests to the fact that they are not being served adequately by their native culture.

The most devastating factor of having individuals attempt to participate in two cultures is the personality disorientation which inevitably takes place. For example, the individual is torn between a world of present-time orientation and a world of future-time orientation, between particularism and universalism, between extreme forms of cooperation and extreme forms of competition. Fatalism is engendered by repeated failures, while the rest of the world, thinking themselves masters of their own destiny, continually passes adverse value judgments upon these people.

Therefore, it seems that one of the strongest parts of the total program should be a well-directed program for acculturation. This factor does not mean that the Mexican, Mexican-American or Spanish-American should be made ashamed of his cultural heritage, but rather that he should start thinking of himself as a full-fledged American citizen in culture as well

as in rights. The marginal worker must change his attitudinal characteristics in order to become a contributing member of society.

Principles. The following are suggested principles that have evolved from this study:

1. The objectives of the program, even though long-range in scope, must be presented to the participants in piecemeal fashion in order that they may understand them adequately. The strong particularistic orientation in many areas, as expressed by the sample, indicates that the subjects may be overwhelmed and discouraged if the totality of the program is presented to them at the beginning. This suggestion does not mean that the participants should be deceived in any manner, but that the objectives should be specific and practical.
2. The objectives should be formulated in long-range terms but presented in very simple terms to the participants--for example, training to become a plumber. The intermediate or short-term objectives should also be expressed simply and with a definite purpose--for example, learning to thread a pipe in order to be able to make a T-joint, or learning to read directions in order to be able to operate a machine.
3. Objectives should be defined in such a manner that cultural or attitudinal conflict is minimized. Judgmental expressions should be avoided, and positive expressions should be widely implemented.

4. Since the nuclear family unit emerged as the single most meaningful factor for the migrant and ex-migrant workers, the objectives of rehabilitation should involve the total family unit in as many areas as possible.
5. The objectives of adult education should be coordinated as much as possible with the school program in which the children are participating. This factor may entail modification of the school program for these children.
6. The objectives must be wide in scope, involving many agencies, according to the area of specialization.

Subject Matter

If the foregoing objectives are acceptable, then spelling out the subject matter content of the program becomes fairly easy. The problem becomes one of trying to determine what principles to follow in order to implement the subject matter suggested by the objectives.

Family Living. The subject matter content in the area of family living should be of the type that helps these people attain a higher level of living within their resources. Much evidence was noted attesting to the fact that these people waste much of their meager resources. At the same time, lack of pride in their homes, as indicated by rundown conditions, perpetuate in the children a sense of lethargy and apathy about their living conditions. Much of the adverse living conditions which were observed could have been remedied by simple work involving no spending. What is suggested here is that the poor living conditions are not all the direct cause of poverty.

The subject matter content in family living should encompass the totality of family living. Culinary arts, sewing, general house upkeep, and interior decoration should be part of the training women receive. "Do-it-yourself" skills should be widely implemented. Both husbands and wives should take training in child-rearing, as well as in first aid and simple medications.

A sorely neglected area in family living among these people seems to be the area of recreation. Education should strongly emphasize the area of recreation, not only for the purpose of attaining enjoyment in life, but also for its therapeutic effect. The strong sense of anome, their despair at not being able to provide for their family, their fatalism, and other negativistic attitudes could perhaps be overcome by wholesome therapeutic play.

Basic education. Perhaps the area of greatest importance in the rehabilitation of these people is the development of communication skills in the English language. Speaking, reading, and writing are essential. It seems it would be a mistake to start a program in literacy with these people in the traditional manner. The subject matter used for the development of these skills should be highly individualized, because all have different levels of communication skills in English. At the same time, the subject matter should be at the interest level appropriate for these people. The skills developed should be of the type which enables them to carry on their daily tasks and also of the type which enables them to acquire technical training.

Computational skills, similarly, should vary from simple computation adequate for daily living to complex mathematics needed for technical training.

Vocational Education. One great difficulty in vocational education is that of determining the area of salable skills which these people are capable of attaining. Once the area is identified, then determining the subject matter content is easy. As a matter of principle, it should be stated that regardless of the area of vocational education the individual undertakes, the program should be geared to the potential of the individual. Perhaps an exploratory curriculum, such as industrial arts, is needed to help the individual determine what area he wants to embrace, and to enable the instructors to assess the potential of the individual. One must be constantly aware that a single failure may totally discourage the individual to the point of not wanting to attempt any further training. This is where the individual must constantly be assured of job placement at the end of his training.

Besides the technical skills that should be contained in the respective curricula of vocational education, a certain amount of training in social behavior is needed. Being very realistic, the curriculum builders must understand that unless an individual possesses and commands all the social amenities connected with a given trade, his chances of success are minimal.

Among the general types of jobs available at present are the following: domestic positions, such as housemaids and janitors; general welfare, such as forestry, conservation, development of outdoor recreational facilities; factory--assembly line type of work; technical and skilled, such as carpentry,

machine operation and maintenance; technicians in various fields. The principle that one must remember is that it is a waste of money to train these people for jobs that are not going to be in existence by the time they finish their training. This factor perhaps indicates that because of the fast moving technology, one of the attitudes which needs to be developed among these people is that vocational education must be a continuing thing. They, perhaps, need to realize that, just as they are being retrained now, there is a great possibility that retraining in a completely new field may be needed ten or fifteen years hence.

Americanization. The program of Americanization should include the rich heritage stemming from the American tradition. It should include American democracy and ideology. The symbolism of the American way of life, as expressed by the history of the country and its many holidays, should be a part of their training. At the same time, however, the marginal workers of Spanish descent should be made aware of their own great native cultural heritage. They should be made proud of their heritage without necessarily urging them to go back to the behavioral patterns and cultural values of that culture. These people should be encouraged to be proud that they are Americans in the full sense of the word without minimizing their native heritage. They should be made aware that only by considering themselves Americans can they participate in the totality of the American way of life.

As a central point of this part of the program, the duties and responsibilities of an American citizen should be presented. Sociological factors such as class stratification, the nature of prejudice and discrimination,

and other social phenomena should be presented, in order that these people will become aware of the problems they are facing and be able to adjust to and/or resolve them.

Methodology

The problem of motivation will be discussed in the following section. As a foundation for this discussion in methodology, one may state that basically the methods used will spell the success or the failure of the entire program. The methodology employed will make the class interesting or will render it very pedantic. The holding power of the program depends on how interesting and vital the instructors make the program. One must remember that there are no compulsory school attendance laws for adults, and thus their attendance in class will be proportionate to the interest they have in the class.

Several typical classroom methods will undoubtedly be useful in educating these people. But it would be a mistake to place unquestioning reliance on the traditional methods. The totality of methodology is concerned with adequate communication between teacher and student. The communication should be made step by step and differentiated according to levels of intellectual potential and development of the adult student. Much of the material will have to be presented in an individualized manner. All the new media, such as audio-visual materials, linguistic techniques, and programmed learning, should come to bear on the instruction of these adults.

The sequence of the presentations cannot be totally predetermined, as is done in the regular classroom. These people are very present-time oriented,

and they must see the "usefulness" of all tasks before they involve themselves in them. They are very particularistic in outlook, and are concerned more with the details of the program than with the overall program. While the instructor must have in mind the long-range objectives and gear his instruction to that end, it seems that at the beginning small units of very short duration would be most meaningful to these people.

For certain parts of the program, perhaps the conventional classroom would be adequate. However, for much of the training, the shops, the fields, and the home will be the most appropraite places for instruction. The facilities of the many agencies participating in the program should also be utilized.

The organization of the classes should be very flexible. Some of the instruction can be presented properly to typical classroom classes. Other aspects can be presented to a group in a neighborhood, perhaps rotating the meeting place from home to home. Still in other areas of the program, such as hygiene and health, perhaps the family unit would be the best class organization. For vocational education, apprenticeships in the shops where these people eventually will be working may supplement regular classroom instruction.

A very important principle one must remember is that there is nothing sacrosanct about any method. A second principle to remember is that these people have a definite time limit in which to acquire instruction, so any method that facilitates or speeds the process is the desirable one.

Teaching Personnel

The teaching personnel in such a program cannot be limited to professionally trained individuals in the field of education. For example, in the area of family living, public health workers, social workers, and agricultural extension people should all be involved. Perhaps the best instructors in the area of vocational education will be the successful technicians in the field. In the areas of basic education and education for Americanization, the best instructors may be professionally trained teachers.

Regardles of who the instructors will be, all must understand the adult student thoroughly from a socio-psychological perspective. They must understand his aspirations and desires, his strengths and his weaknesses. These teachers should not be judgmental; rather, they should be very empathetic with these people. They all should have the ability to establish and maintain rapport with these special students.

The ability to understand the adult student, which may not even be present in the professionally trained person, needs to be developed through a continuing inservice educational program. For example, the mechanic and the technician need to learn some teaching theory and methodology, as well as the socio-cultural complex of their students. It would be a mistake to assume that because an individual knows his subject matter, he can teach it; or that because a person knows how to teach, he can teach any subject matter. Perhaps closer scrutiny will reveal that very few individuals know much about the problem of adult education in general, and almost no one knows anything about education of the migrant and ex-migrant worker.

Motivation

The most difficult problem, perhaps, will be motivating the migrant and ex-migrant worker to enroll in the program and to stay in it until completion. The truth is that little is known about motivation in the area of adult education. A few "do's" and "don't's" can be formulated from this study, but a positive approach to motivational structures for the marginal worker is not yet possible.

From this study, one can conclude that the major concern of the subjects was satisfaction of basic needs; namely, food and clothing. The fear of want was ever present. Therefore, it appears that the fear of want must be removed before any attempt at rehabilitation of these people can be made. The means of accomplishing this task may seem simple -- for example, pay them an adequate amount for sustenance in order to enroll them in the program. However, the risk involved is that one may be introducing them into the "welfare complex," which they seemingly do not yet have. The other danger is they may attend classes to earn the pay check, not to learn or rehabilitate themselves. But, if proper rehabilitation of these people is to be attained, the fear of want must be removed, regardless of the risks or dangers involved.

The holding power of the program will be enhanced by gearing the subject matter to the needs of the individuals involved (as they see them), and by using adequate methodology. As they move along, the instructors must expand their consciousness of needs in the adult students. These people are not oriented to abstractions; whatever is presented to them must have a practical value.

In this regard, the rewards meted out must be significant to the individuals receiving them. The middle class achievement and success orientation may be of little value to these people. One must realize that by middle class standards they have accomplished little and have had a life time of failures. Rather, it seems that the rewards must be quite tangible and definitely obtainable. For this purpose immediate rewards must be given at the beginning of the program after the accomplishment of certain tasks. Delayed rewards are not readily comprehended by these people.

The family emerged as a very strong unit, and to some extent, the motivation can be geared through the family. Thus, it seems that the family can be used as a motivational structure. Also, a constant reminder that what the parents are doing will eventually result in betterment of the family conditions may be a strong driving force for these people. On the other hand, the family may be a detriment in some areas of the program. In the area of literacy, for example, most of the children will be more literate than the parents. The stature of the father and mother may be jeopardized by exposing their ignorance.

Assurance of job placement after completion of the training program may prove to be a strong motivational factor for the heads of the families.

As was stated before, not much can be suggested for motivation of the adult student because not much is known. Perhaps, what is needed is a series of coordinated demonstration programs -- each using different sets of motivational structures. An assessment of the successes and failures of each program at the end of the experimental period would indicate the value of each set of techniques.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

LIFE HISTORIES OF ADULT MIGRANT WORKERS

I. Family.

A. Paternal Family.

1. Place of subject's birth.
2. Number of siblings in subject's paternal family.
3. Subject reared with father and mother or in other circumstances.
4. Education of subject's father and mother.
5. Occupation of father and mother or guardians.
6. Description of peer group.
7. Type of residence and area of residence.
8. Subject's father's ambitions for him and for other siblings.
9. Fondest remembrances of family life.
10. Most traumatic or saddest memories of family life.
11. Father's and mother's deaths. Attempt to get descriptive circumstances.

B. Subject's Own Family.

1. When married.
2. Number of children.
3. Number in school.
4. Number out of school, but who are of school age.
5. Number married. Attempt to get description of relationship between subject's family and married children's families.
6. Subject's desires for the children.
7. How many help support the family.
8. Health status of subject and other family members; medical care obtained or sought.

II. Education.

A. Subject's Educational History.

1. Number of grades completed.
2. Last date of school attendance.
3. Kinds of schools attended.
4. Subject's impression of teachers.

5. Subject's desire for more education; what type.
6. Fondest memories of school.
7. Most traumatic experiences.
8. Best teacher.
9. Worst teacher.

B. Attitudes Towards Education.

1. Level of educational attainment desired for children.
2. Subject's impression of education and for whom (distinguish between male or female).
3. Subject's impression of the schools which his children are attending; of the teachers and school administration.
4. Changes subject would like to have made in the schools.
5. Subject's impression of the summer schools in the camps.

III. Work History.

A. Skills.

1. Types of jobs the subject has held in his lifetime.
   a. Type of job and tenure.
   b. Approximate earnings in each job (by the hour or salarywise).
2. Skills the subject has that he has not used ever or for long in earning a living.
3. Main sources of income.

B. History of Migratory Work.

1. Chronology of subject as migratory worker.
   a. Chronological order of streams followed.
   b. Working and living conditions.
   c. Transportation and moving experiences.
   d. Exploitation experienced.
2. Subject's desire to remain in the stream or to leave it.

C. Income.

1. Sources.
   a. Migratory work.
   b. Other types of work.
   c. Welfare (e.g., commodities, unemployment compensation, DPW, and so forth).
2. Subject's attitude towards persons who earn more than what they can use.

D. Spending Patterns.

1. Credit buying.
   a. Amount.
   b. Length of time between settling of accounts.
2. Savings.
   a. Amount saved during summer.
   b. Clothing and other necessities bought during period of employement for use during period of unemployment.
   c. Other items bought during the summer.
3. Spendings.
   a. Bulk of spending went for what type of items.
   b. Period of bulk of spending (e.g., during working season or extended through the year).
   c. Place for buying groceries during working period.
   d. Place for buying food at present.
   e. Types of

E. Recreation.

F. Types of Help Programs.

IV. View of the Social Order.

A. Self-image.

B. Image of other Spanish-speaking who are not migrants.

C. Image of the Anglo.

D. Politics.

V. Descriptive Characteristics.

A. Personal.

B. Family.

C. Home.

D. Community.

APPENDIX II

SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS

Subject _____

	Religion	Family	Education-Adults	Education Children	Health	Earning	Spending	Politics	Recreation
1. Reward Expectation									
2. Self-Projection									
3. Dominance-Subordinance									
4. Aggression-Passivity									
5. Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction									
6. Achievement-Failure									
7. Confidence-Fear									
8. Involvement-Apathy									
9. Universalism-Particularism									
10. Familism-Individualism									
11. Cosmopolitism-Ethnocentrism									
12. Active Discrimination									
13. Passive Discrimination									

APPENDIX III

SCALE FOR SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Reward Expectation

1. All rewards will come in the future.
2. Long-range, well-planned rewards are expected.
3. Medium to short-range in expectation of future rewards.
4. Immediate reward expectations.
5. Immediate reward expectations, but wishing to be able to get rewards that were available in the past.
6. Present rewards less worthy than past ones.
7. Rejection of present rewards; not capable of accepting rewards after they have been earned.

2. Self-Projection

1. Only day-dreaming about the future and no action evident.

2. Well-defined plans for action in the future and action may have started already.

3. Hope in the future or wanting to take action in the future, but basically, the future is nebulous.

4. Present time or action only factor considered.

5. Nostalgia about the past.

6. Strong desire to go to the past.

7. Reclusion.

3. Dominance-Subordinance

1. Complete master of own destiny; nothing can overpower me.

2. Through manipulation of situation, circumstances can be altered to be made beneficial.

3. Some things in life can be directed, but many cannot.

4. No concern/awareness of dominance-subordinance factor; some things can be manipulated, some cannot.

5. Most things (important ones, e.g., health,death, poverty)--masters of one's destiny and only minor things can be altered.

6. Destiny--overpowering in most things in life; it is better to resign oneself than to fight it.

7. Destiny--the complete master and will overpower me.

4. Aggression-Passivity

1. Authoritarian.

2. Aggression in action.

3. Aggression or extroversion in speech.

4. Equal aggression and passivity, but in a socially acceptable manner; no concern/awareness for factor.

5. Timidity in 'speaking out;' avoids situation.

6. Timidity in action, e.g., job seeking, defending one's rights, escapes situation.

7. Total submission to will of others -- perhaps, also to non-authority figures.

5. Self-Satisfaction--Dissatisfaction

1. Complete satisfaction; no 'buts' nor 'even thoughs' present.

2. Satisfaction; 'even thoughs' present; subject feels that some things could have been better.

3. Basic satisfaction; 'even though' many hardships and tribulations were encountered in life.

4. Both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Healthily introspective.

5. Dissatisfaction, because of hardships and tribulations in life. Deprivation. Satisfied because of ignorance.

6. Dissatisfaction/bitterness; too many things beyond subject's control went wrong.

7. Persecution complex.

6. Achievement--Failure

1. Obsession with achieving more and more.

2. Much achievement accomplished but wanting to improve.

3. Satisfaction with present level of achievement, but small and positive incentive to improve.

4. Satisfaction with present level of achievement; ability to accept failure realistically.

5. Feeling that nothing more can be achieved or improved; exhaustion of potential.

6. Ashamedness of not having achieved.

7. Strong feeling of unworthiness; self-blaming.

7. Confidence--Fear

1. Extreme confidence.
2. Confidence.
e. Confidence, with few concerns.
4, Security balanced with concern.
5. Concern, with some fear.
6. Fear.
7. Excessive fear.

8. Apathy--Involvement

1. Hyper-involvement.
2. Diffused involvement.
3. Over-involvement; diminishing success.
4. Successful involvement within limits of potential.
5. Apathy to some problems; some successful involvement.
6. Apathy to most problems; little involvement.
7. Apathy; no involvement.

9. Universalism--Particularism

1. Complete universalism; minor details of any situation unimportant.

2. Universalism; minor details of any situation less important than universal; but many of them are very important.

3. Universalism, with consciousness that universals exist only because of the particulars.

4. Lack of consciousness of particulars or universals.

5. Particulars--very important; concern for details but universals are still present.

6. Particulars--very important; universals become dim.

7. Particulars--the only important factors; universals completely lost.

10. Familism--Individualism

1. Complete submission in extended family.
2. Concern for and/or dependence upon extended family or collaterals.
3. Concern for and/or dependence upon nuclear family, next of kin and distant relatives.
4. Concern for and/or dependence upon nuclear family, plus first-degree relatives.
5. Concern for and/or dependence upon nuclear family, awareness/ uneasiness about large family.
6. Concern for dependents only.
7. Complete egocentrism.

11. Cosmopolitism--Ethnocentrism

1. Ultra-cosmopolitism--dilettante.
2. Successful relations with all social and ethnic groups.
3. Successful relations with groups of his social class and/or ethnic background.
4. Successful relations with only those of his ethnic background in his social class.
5. Successful relations with primary and secondary groups of his ethnic background.
6. Successful relations only with those primary groups of his ethnic background.
7. Successful relations with very small number of individuals of his ethnic background.

12. Active Discrimination

1. Intolerance of those who are discriminatory.
2. Fighting discrimination.
3. Personal avoidance of discriminatory practices.
4. Respectful of groups different than one's own.
5. Personal discrimination practices.
6. Open and/or vicious discrimination practices.
7. Intolerance of those who do not discriminate.

13. Passive Discrimination

1. Unrealistic rejection of idea of discrimination.

2. Slight or no awareness of discrimination towards group or self; slightly stronger towards group than towards himself.

3. Some awareness of discrimination (perhaps subtle type) towards group or self; slightly more intensive towards group than towards self.

4. Realistic awareness of discrimination; not defensive.

5. Awareness of discrimination at social level; becoming defensive.

6. Very strong awareness of open and strong discrimination against self and group; very defensive.

7. Discrimination is universal; distorted perspective.